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Province	Mosques	Adherents
Honan	2,703	3,094,800
Hupeh	1,134	1,587,080
Hunan	932	1,302,900
Kiangsi	205	286,590
Kwangtung	201	558,450
Kwangsi	429	280,180

Islam in modern times has manifested some of the tendencies which Buddhism showed under the impact of various modernizing forces. One of these was the tendency for lay leaders to rise in influence over the Ahung. Another was the foundation of a Chinese Islamic Association in 1912 to represent the interests of all Chinese Moslems, to work for social reform, and to foster closer relations between Moslems and non-Moslems. It claimed 3,000 branches by 1923. Its successors participated in the resistance against Japan, sponsored students abroad and the importation of modern scholars of the Koran from other countries, and developed young men's associations and medical services.[39] The total effect of this activity was to foster a trend to liberality and modernity. It served also to identify the Chinese Moslems with the national aspirations of other Chinese.

As the Chinese Moslems came out of isolation and into contact with the rest of Islam and with

39. Cf. Chan, op. cit., pp. 190-91.

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modern culture generally, there was a considerable difference of view as to the perpetuation of Islam in China. Visits to Mecca in the 1780's had impressed some Chinese Moslems with how far, in their long isolation, they had diverged from orthodox practices. This experience led to the foundation of the New Sect, which stressed return to pure and orthodox Islamic practices. They were resisted by the Old Sect, which favored holding to the customary ways developed in China through the centuries. A new New Sect (Tsan-hsin chiao) was founded by Ma Fu-ch'u (1794-1874), and this sect, emphasizing religious ethics, the spirit rather than the letter of scripture, and modernism in dress, has recently been strong along the coast of China and has spread to modern cultural centers.[40]

Chinese Mohammedans in the course of the modernist movement, accepted the Chinese translation of the Koran, hitherto only in the sacred language of Arabic, and opened schools which taught general as well as religious subjects. And they began, like modernists of other faiths to emphasize the compatability between the Koran and modern science.[41] They published modern periodicals, of which there were nine in 1947; circulation, however, was small. In 1936 the first Chinese Moslem to be so honored received a degree from El Azhar University, the great center of Islamic learning in Cairo. By 1950 the Chinese Islamic Association

40. Chan, op. cit., pp. 192-94.
41. Chan, op. cit., p. 198.

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had set up or co-ordinated two-hundred primary schools and twenty high schools; the Islamic Theological College at the Chungking mosque was opened in 1945. All of these institutions, however, were handicapped by the poverty of the Chinese Moslem community and by suspicion of Chinese learning born of religious conservatism.[42]

What have been Chinese Communist policies towards the problem of Chinese Islam, a problem that involves some areas where they are a major segment of the population and other areas -- such as the Central-South Region -- where they represent a cohesive, slowly modernizing religious community? (The policies adopted towards major centers of Moslem population, are dealt with in the chapter on Ethnic Minorities.) Communist religious policies toward Mohammedanism have something in common with Communist policies toward other religions. The standard pattern of organization has been established by the Peking government: an All-China Islamic Association which, it should be emphasized, differs from former organizations in being an instrument of control over Chinese Mohammedans operated by a hierarchy ideologically acceptable to the Communists. A Peking propaganda booklet issued in 1955 states that, "The work of education is really tackled seriously now, and the number of primary

42. Chan, op. cit., pp. 198-205.

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of Mao Tse-tung have been translated into Arabic for the indoctrination of the Ahungs who do not know Chinese; one suspects that these translations will also find their way overseas to Indonesia and other countries where Arabic is a sacred lingua-franca. Mosques in "show" cities have been renovated and serve to demonstrate to visitors the "reality" of Communist China's promise of religious freedom. 779 668

We have little information on the fate of Islamic establishments and clergy and adherents in the Central-South Region. Without the relative safety in numbers offered by the large communities in the Southwest and Northwest, and without the need -- save perhaps in Canton -- to make a good impression on visitors, the process of Communization, secularization, and integration are probably advancing rapidly in Central-South China. The Chinese Moslems have shown more cohesive and more steadfast resistance to government pressures than any other religious group; their resistance to assimiliation in Russia has been, in some areas, striking. The great question is whether the Moslem cadre, backed by the full force and apparatus of the Communist government, with appeals to nationalism and anti-imperialism in his sausive arsenal, will have more success than the policies of previous governments. Our guess is that he will.

V. CATHOLICISM

The older of the two Christian faiths in China has had 350 years of missionary and organizational 779 797

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experience. It is, in China as elsewhere, resourceful, flexible, and highly disciplined. In modern China, Catholicism has repeatedly come under nationalistic attack because of its foreign support and its allegiance to Rome. The church has countered these attacks in a variety of ways: it has encouraged the Sinicization of Church symbols, e.g., the Virgin is portrayed as a Chinese woman in Chinese dress; it has given its foreign missionaries a more thorough grounding in Chinese language and culture, so that the best of them, wearing Chinese scholars' gowns as habits and speaking excellent Chinese, can make their way successfully in any stratum of Chinese society. The most striking response to nationalistic attacks has been the increasing use of Chinese priests throughout the hierarchy. This is part of world-wide policies in an age of rising nationalism. The following figures indicate the dimensions of the change since 1900:[47]

Catholicism in China

	Chinese Catholics	Foreign Priests	Native Priests
1900	700,000	1,375	471
1948	3,275,000	3,015	2,676

This process of replacing foreign clergy with Chinese clergy has made greatest progress in the

47. Jean Monsterleet, S. J., Les Martyrs de Chine parlent: L'Empire du Mao Tse-toung contre l'Eglise du Christ, Paris, 1953, p. 32; hereinafter cited as Monsterleet.

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older Catholic areas, particularly in North China. There are 144 dioceses or apostolic prefectures, and 29 of these, in the major cultural and commercial centers, are administered by Chinese prelates.[48] The elevation of a Chinese priest to the College of Cardinals in 1946 was a striking symbol of the Church's intention to advance the process of Sinicization.

Catholic cultural and educational activities have played an important role in the advance of the Church. Schools, colleges, and universities have, on the one hand, made it possible for the youth of Chinese Catholic families to have a complete modern education under Church auspices and control; on the other, the colleges and universities have given the clergy a chance to win over non-Catholic youth enrolled as students. Catholic scientific and cultural research, such as that carried on at the famous ZiKawei Observatory near Shanghai, make it clear that the Church and modern science are not in direct opposition to one another.

The situation in 1945-46 was encouraging to Chinese and foreign Catholics. The clergy was being rapidly Sinicized, charitable work was going forward, Catholic educational institutions were full. Native and foreign clergy had gained approval for their work in the war of resistance against Japan. At the same time there were developments which, especially in the light of later events, promised

48. Ibid.

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trouble to the Church. The exchange of envoys between the Vatican and the Nationalist government took place in 1946; Bishop Paul Yü-pin was widely believed to have strong influence with Generalissimo Chiang; these and other signs of identification of the Catholic Church with the Nationalist Government boded ill for the Church when the government declined in power. As the Communist power increased, the persecution of the Church, begun in Communist areas in 1937, was a grim warning of what might be in store for Chinese Catholicism as a whole.[49] Catholic Action, the association of enthusiastic laymen for the advancement of the Faith, had been growing in all parts of the country from 1928 onward; there were two-hundred groups and thirty youth groups as early as 1930.[50] In 1948 the Papal Nuncio ordered the formation of the Legion of Mary, a more militant, zealous, and disciplined organization of Catholic laymen, which in many areas absorbed the Catholic Action groups. The new organization was set up by an American priest, and it had the Chinese name of Sheng-mu chün (Army, or Legion, of Mary). Many experienced Catholic missionaries were doubtful if any strong Chinese government would tolerate this type of militant organization. The group has proved of major propaganda value to the Communists and an object

49. Cf. Raymonde de Jaegher and I. Corbally Kuhn, Tempete sur la Chine, Paris, 1953.

50. Monsterleet, p. 148.

"reform church" in 1953. More than 20 per cent openly proclaimed their faith and/or died as martyrs.[56] 798

Since October 1952, there has been less persecution of Catholics, although between January 1951 and November 1953 the number of missionaries[57] was reduced through expulsion from 3,222 to 364. In December 1955 it was reported by British subjects leaving Shanghai that regular Catholic services were being held and were well attended.[58]

The Central-South Region has fewer and less important centers of Catholicism than North China.[59] The distribution of these centers in this region in 1946 was as follows: 797

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56. Monsterleet, p. 29. It should be emphasized that these figures are given by a Catholic author.

57. Mission Bulletin, April 1952, p. 323, and January 1954, p. 56; cited in Walker, op. cit., p. 189.

58. New York Times, Dec. 18, 1955.

59. Monsterleet, pp. 16-17.

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Province	Metropolitan Bishopric	Suffragan Bishopric
Honan	Kaifeng	Chengchow Loyang Nanyang Chumatien Sinyangchow
Hupeh	Hankow	Lachowkow Wuchang Hanyang Kichow
Hunan	Changsha	Changte Hengyang Yuanling
Kiangsi	Nanchang	Nancheng Kian Kanchow Yukieng
Kwangtung	Canton	Kongmoon Kaying Chiuchow Swatow Pakhoi
Kwangsi	Nanning	Wuchow Anlung

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> inhuman tasks, to minimize the seriousness of their convictions and the thoroughness of their methods. These convictions were deeply impressed on their minds.... The new ideas and strange throughts are unconditionally accepted by the young, and accepted with a fanaticism which fears neither suffering, hardship nor death. I saw shy youths changed into courageous apostles; I saw the ambitious and selfish give up their goals and possessions; I saw some of my Christian youths break the bonds of family and friendship for this Cause."

The basic question is whether the harassed and persecuted Church can find the means to give its own youth these qualities. If it can not, its future throughout China is dark indeed.

VI. PROTESTANTISM

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In many respects the Protestant missionaries and their converts set the pattern for the modernizing movements which took place in Buddhism and Islam. Protestant religious work in the twentieth century came to be accompanied by widespread, diverse, and large-scale social service, medical, and educational activities. The Protestant missionaries helped to awaken the social conscience of the Chinese, and the missions were major centers for the dissemination of general knowledge about the West. Sun Yat-sen was a devout Christian, and Christian thought left its mark on much of his work. As

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pioneers in medical education, in many fields of technical education, in women's education, and in many other spheres, the Protestants made striking contributions to the dissolution of the traditional order in China. But it was beyond their powers to replace that order with a Christian democratic society. Adn they failed also to forge an effective instrument to work for that end: a disciplined, independent, vigorous body of Chinese Protestants.

Protestant missions began in the ports of the China coast that were gradually opened up after China's successive defeats by the Western powers. The rights of residence, travel, and property ownership for both Catholic and Protestant churches were exacted in the successive treaties which China was forced to sign. This background of, as it were, forced-entry into China has handicapped Christianity in China in two important respects: as the tide of nationalistic sentiment rose, anti-Christian movements invariably accompanied anti-foreign and nationalistic manifestations. Secondly, the decades of foreign protection and foreign support prevented the Christian churches -- the Protestant perhaps more than the Catholic from developing their own means of self-support and their own mechanisms of survival in times of political upheaval.

Protestantism has suffered from its own sectarianism. A rational division of Christian effort was usually impossible when Baptists, Methodists,

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Episcopalians and innumerable small sects were at odds with one another and brought diverse and conflicting interpretations of Christianity to the Chinese.[63] Naturally the antagonism between Catholic and Protestant mission workers -- their tendency to depreciate one another when dealing with the Chinese -- further weakened the whole effort. Martin Yang describes the antagonisms that developed in the Shantung countryside between Catholic and Protestant Chinese; this added to the tension that already existed between the mass of the villagers and the converts to both forms of Christianity.[64] Yang, himself a Christian, has this to say of the motivations of conversion in the village he studied: "The first converts were members of the Ch'en and Yang families and included a Ch'en scholar and his second brother. They were all ambitious men, and their primary purpose in conversion was to get positions as country preachers, and then to establish a church-subsidized village school, to use foreign influence through the church

63. There were 66 different Protestant missionary societies in China in 1906. By 1919 there were 130 different societies, groups, and other missionary organizations. Cf. Pr. Damboriena, "Les Missions Protestantes en Chine" Bulletin de l'Université l'Aurore, Ser. III, Vol. 8, No. 1, Shanghai, 1947, p. 18; hereinafter cited as Damboriena.

64. Martin Yang, A Chinese Village, New York 1945, pp. 158-164.

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to deal with their opponents, and to sell food to the missionaries."[65] Chinese governments, imperial and nationalist, found the Christians troublesome, and, in the twenties and thirties, there were serious efforts to curb them.

One of the effects of government sanctions, combined with the relatively poor results after ninety years of effort, was to reduce the enthusiasm for China missions among Christians abroad. This was reflected in the decreased flow of funds, notably from the United States. From nearly $6,000,000 in 1928, Protestant contributions fell to a little over $3,500,000 in 1933 and did not greatly exceed $4,000,000 in 1935 and 1936.[66] This handicapped nearly all fields of missionary endeavor.

Another arena in which the Protestants tried for influence was the great polemical struggle of the 1920's and 1930's over the nature and future of Chinese civilization. In this prolonged and important controversy, the Protestants found themselves handicapped by the divisions among themselves, notably that between modernists and fundamentalists, and also by the rising tide of nationalism. In the end the Protestants shared with idealistic Chinese and Western philosophers the failure to stem the rising tide of materialism.

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65. Ibid., p. 159.
66. Damboriena, p. 83.

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The Sino-Japanese War and the war in the Pacific disrupted missionary efforts in north and central China, and in the years 1945-49 Protestant churches were gradually rehabilitating their establishments throughout the country. But there were serious difficulties in these years. American support, which had long been the principal source of funds for Chinese Protestantism, became increasingly suspect as Communist and left wing propaganda harped on "American imperialism" and as Chiang's government, which also received American support, became increasingly discredited. Protestants, because of their overwhelming emphasis on the socia' gospel (serving God through service to society) and their less formidable unity and discipline, suffered less in Communist-occupied areas than did the Catholics.

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The timetable of Communist moves against Protestants and their organizations follows approximately that for the Catholics noted above. The "national church," the "three autonomies," the confiscation of church property, church schools, and hospitals were accompanied by a steady expulsion of the missionaries. The following figures show the decrease in Protestant missionary personnel between 1935 and 1949 and the almost total elimination of missionaries since that time.[67] In 1935, there were 5,816 Protestant missionaries in China; in 1949, about 3,000; in April 1952, only 100.

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67. The first figure is from the Handbook of the Christian Movement, reproduced in Damboriena, p. 82. The other figures are from Walker, op. cit., p. 19.

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It is not possible to document the proportion of Chinese Protestants who have made their peace with the Communist regime, but "modernism," the social gospel, sectarianism, and the lack of such punitive sanctions as excommunication all tend to make the Protestants less resistant to Communist force and persuasion than the Catholics. A leading Chinese Protestant layman -- under what degree of pressure we do not know -- found a number of ways to come to terms with Communism: (1) as far back as the founding of Judaism, men's highest hope has been the establishment of a solidly united, ideal society; the Communists promise such a society; (2) sectarianism has created dissension, but the Chinese have a genius for compromise; therefore, there is an opportunity to promote (under the Communist government) "a grand union of the churches"; (3) Christianity is a religion of world revolution, but it has been fettered and frustrated by feudal and reactionary institutions. The age of Marxism-Leninism, therefore, is favorable to the realization of "Christian ideals."[68] Chinese Protestants are under a barrage of such statements, which can go so far as to assert that Jesus was a "patriotic anti-imperialist" in defending his country against

68. Ts'ai Yung-ch'un, "Progressive Road for Christianity in the New China," Hsin Kuan-ch'a [New Observation], Vol. I, No. 8, Oct. 10, 1950; Current Background, 40, Dec. 15, 1950, p. 3.

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the Romans.[69] How successfully Chinese Protestants as a whole are resisting this type of persuasion and the manifold pressures and blandishments of the Communist regime is unknown. Again, as in the case of the Catholics, loss of Protestant youth to the Communist "religion" would mean that the future of China is dark indeed.

The Central-South Region has fewer centers of Protestantism than some other, more accessible, parts of China. The following tabulation gives the percentage of the Central-South population which, in 1938, was Protestant. The second column gives the total number of Protestants in 1924:[70]

Province	1938	1924
Honan	3.7%	12,418
Hupeh	4.3	14,725
Hunan	3.2	11,018
Kiangsi	2.2	7,827
Kwangtung	18.2	61,262
Kwangsi	1.4	4,722

It will be noted that except for Kwangtung, whose capital Canton is the oldest port of entry for

69. Hsu, op. cit., p. 41.

70. Ku T'ing-ch'ang's percentage figures published in the Collectanea Commissionis Synodalis, Vol. XI, 1938, pp. 272, 281. Tables reproduced in Damboriena pp. 90-91. The 1924 figures are from The China Yearbook, 1924, p. 629.

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Western commerce, the Protestant minorities in these provinces are inconsiderable. Further, a very high proportion of Protestant missions was concentrated in provincial capitals and major cities.[71] Most of the missionaries from the inland stations have now been expelled, and the capacity of the native pastorate to hold its tiny churches together against an all-powerful state is problematical.

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71. See, for example, discussion of the distribution of mission publication operations by provinces in Damboriena, pp. 90-91.

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was played up in the Communist press to arouse public hatred against Americans. However, as Lo Jui-ch'ing, Minister of the Ministry of Public Security of Communist China, admitted[18] at the end of the suppression campaign, of the cases prosecuted in 1951, the majority of them involved bandits, and only a few had anything to do with intelligence agents.

Vigorous though the Communist efforts to eliminate the Kuomintang spies may have been, there are indications that the Communist have not yet succeeded in eliminating espionage. Reports from Mainland China early in 1954 revealed the existence in Central-South China[19] of at least two organizations which the Communists regarded as engaged in work. One was the Ch'ing Feng She, the other the New Socialist Party of China, which was said to have its own "underground army" operating in Hunan Province.

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Foreign missionaries and the church groups sponsored by them also came under fire as the Communist spy-hunt gained momentum. One case was reported in 1951 in the administrative district[20] of Hsing-ning and Mei-hsien (Kwangtung Province). An American missionary, accused of being a spy himself, was charged with abetting "counterrevolutionary" Chinese in espionage work for the United States government. Immediately after this exposé, a wave of similar cases was reported in the Central-South China press.

18. People's Daily, Peking Oct. 1, 1951, p. 3.
19. People's Daily, March 9, 1954, p. 3.
20. Yangtze Daily, April 24, 1951, p. 1. Similar cases were reported on April 25, 1951, p. 3, and July 21, 1951, p. 3